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Its program and activities

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JAPANESE PEOPLE'S EMANCIPATION LEAGUE

Its Program and Activities

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A Japanese People's Movement for a Democratic Japan

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INTRODUCTION

THE JAPANESE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY regards it as one of its tasks, to introduce to the American public the Japanese people's struggle against the autocratic rule of the military clique, which in essence forms the backside of the same people's movement for freedom and democracy. It desires, also in this way, to participate in the United Nations' efforts not only to win this war, but also to secure an everlasting peace in the Far East.

It is our plan to publish material on the democratic movement among the Japanese people. This pamphlet, the first of the series, covers the program and activities of the Japanese People's Emancipation League. The J.P.E.L.'s present headquarters is located in Yenan, but its forerunner was the well-known "Anti-War League" of the Japanese soldiers, which started in Chungking several years ago and spread over various places in China, naturally including the Border Regions. The J.P.E.L. deserves our special attention. Though the movement is carried on outside Japan, its leaders have long been active in anti-militaristic struggles and have strong popular support. Historically, as well as logically, the J.P.E.L. can be regarded as the continuation of the people's movement in Japan during the years following World War I. The League recruits its members from among Japanese war prisoners taken by the Chinese Armies. These recruits are now convinced anti-militarists who, in defiance of death, are working upon the Japanese soldiers and civilians in China. In the near future, they aspire to carry their struggle into the heart of Japan proper together with the United Nations.

It is very significant that last summer (1944) the American military mission headed by Colonel Bartlett went to Yenan and took the occasion to exchange opinions with the Japanese People's Emancipation League on the common fight. The first reports about the J.P.E.L. appeared in the early 1944 issues of the Allied Labor News. Subsequently, articles about the J.P.E.L. appeared in the New York Times of July 25 and August 20; the Herald Tribune of August 22; the August issue of Amerasia. The concensus of all the dispatches is that the J.P.E.L. consists of uncompromising anti-militaristic Japanese and that though some leaders are outspoken "left wingers", they are sincerely endeavoring to realize a democratic program -- a basis on which a great coalition of all the anti-militaristic forces can be built.

As far as the contents of this pamphlet are concerned, the title of each chapter speaks for itself. All the articles are translated as literally as possible so that they can be used by research students as source material. Most of the articles were reproduced in the New York China Daily News; the rest were obtained through the courtesy of the same paper.

We wish to extend our sincere gratitude to the New York China Daily News and to those individuals who assisted us in this project.

Japanese American Committee for Democracy

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We would appreciate the Japanese American Committee for Democracy being mentioned as editor-publisher of this material if any of its contents are quoted or used as reference.

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INTRODUCTION

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1. BIRTH OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE'S EMANCIPATION LEAGUE

DISPATCH FROM YENAN, CHINA

On Jan. 15, 1944 there convened the enlarged Executive Committee of the North China Association of the Japanese Anti-War League. All the authorized delegates of the League's organizations in North China were present. The League's fighting Chinese allies were also invited to attend. The meeting elected a presidium of eight including Mao Tse-Tung, Chu-Teh, Okano and Kaji. Sugimoto*, who was elected chairman, made an opening speech which was followed by others, by Commander-in-Chief Chu, Susumu Okano and Chief of Staff Yeh. The meeting decided to make preparations for the establishment of the "Japanese People's Emancipation League", and set up a preparatory committee. The following is a translation of the proposals adopted.

> Hitler's doom is at hand. The military clique of Japan, trailing behind Hitler is also not far from its doom. The suffering and poverty of the Japanese people in Japan and abroad and of the soldiers at the front are already very extreme. Among them, the sentiment of war weariness against the war and against the military clique, is increasing and extending day by day. This state of affairs shows that the conditions for organizing the broadest people's front for the struggle for peace and freedom are ripening. We now address ourselves to all progressive elements at home and abroad, proposing the setting up of such a people's front organization. Serving as principal organizer and promoter of such a front, we of the enlarged Executive Committee of the North China Association of the Japanese Anti-War League, have decided to set up the Preparatory Committee of the "Japanese People's Emancipation League." The "Emancipation League" we are to organize is representative of the demands of all the people. Its program should be based on the following:
>
> 1) Terminate this war immediately; withdraw Japanese troops from all occupied areas; conclude a just peace; punish severely those responsible for the war.
> 2) Carry out a real foreign policy of peace; for a friendly relationship with all peoples based on independence, equality and mutual benefit.
> 3) Adopt and carry out an economic policy for the independence, prosperity and national strength of the nation.
> 4) Purge the military clique responsible for the stranglehold on Japanese politics; dissolve all the organizations under their direction.
> 5) Guarantee a system of political freedom, independence and democracy.
> 6) Improve and raise the standard of living of the people and the soldiers.
> 7) Overthrow the war-like Government of Japan and establish a united and progressive government representing all parties and groups.

The structure of the "Emancipation League" must be such as to include the broad masses of the Japanese people both at home and abroad and be able to mobilize their organizations to this end.

On the basis of the above we resolve to begin our preparatory work for the establishment of the "Emancipation League."

Executive Committee of the North China Association
Japanese Anti-War League - January 15, 1944.

OKANO'S SPEECH

In his speech made before the Conference Okano related the course of development in the Japanese anti-war organizations. The main points are as follows:

To date there are thirty-four branches of the Anti-War League. Their development may be divided into two stages: the first stage was the period before the Japanese

Soldiers' Conference of August 1942. This was mainly a period in which the seed was being sown. The second stage was the period of consolidation. The slogans of struggle raised during this period were in accordance with the daily demands of the soldiers, caused by the bitter conflicts within the Japanese troops. Besides this we also set up in 1942, the Japanese Communist Alliance in China.

Since last year tremendous changes have taken place in Japan. For example, at the Tokyo Shibaura munition factory and Kawasaki shipyards, sabotage took place. Sabotage also occurred at the Nagoya Aichi Watch factory. All these are the glorious actions of the Japanese Communists and advanced elements of the population carried out against the oppression of the militarists.

As to the soldiery, according to information compiled by the Japanese Anti-War League, if we assume the total Japanese war prisoners as 100, the number thereof who voluntarily surrendered to the Eighth Route Army and who deserted the Japanese Army in 1940, was only 7 per cent. In 1942 it was increased to 18%, and in 1943 to 40%. From these figures can be seen the changes in the war weariness and the anti-war sentiment among the Japanese soldiers.

Next there was a great increase in the strength of the Japanese Anti-War League. Not only was there a numerical increase but new cadres also sprang up. The Japanese Workers' and Peasants' School had recruited its instructors as well as the director of instruction from the ranks of its students. At the front there are also many good propaganda cadres with members who can write very good leaflets and make good posters. At the same time, there also came into being other new cadres - those who could single out and expose those Japanese who wind their way into our midst.

Viewed from all this, we find that both the subjective and objective conditions are ripening for the broad political struggle we are now conducting. Therefore there is a necessity to establish the "Preparatory Committee of the Japanese People's Emancipation League". This League has the great task of promoting and organizing the Japanese people's front against the war and against the militarists. At present our strength must still be extended, not only in North China, but to the whole of China and into Japan itself. We shall be victorious because we represent the interests of and the will of 95% of the Japanese population. We shall gain the active support of the Japanese people.

Finally, Okano said: In the forefront of this struggle are our comrades of the Anti-War League. These comrades will raise the banner of the "Emancipation League" on the soil of Japan!

APPEAL TO THE JAPANESE IN CHUNGKING, INDIA, NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

We, Japanese civilians and soldiers in North China, at a conference held at Yenan, resolve to establish a "Preparatory Committee of the Japanese People's Emancipation League." The aims of the League are to liberate the Japanese people from the catastrophic disaster of this war, from the military dictatorship, from hunger and want; and to set up a people's government in Japan that can realize the liberation of the people and prepare for a democratic Japan. All these are the urgent demands of the entire Japanese people. But in order to attain these aims, the Japanese people both in Japan and abroad, without regard to differences in their calling and in their thinking, must unite as one, overcome all difficulties and obstacles, and initiate a great popular movement, to overthrow the common enemy.

You and us, we are fortunate, securely living in democratic countries and

having the freedom to initiate this movement. Therefore, we, the Japanese in North China, in order to promote such a movement, have made a first effort, organized the "Preparatory Committee of the Japanese People's Emancipation League." We also established local organizations in North and Central China.

But the program and constitution for this organization presented here by us are merely draft proposals, the adoption of which would become final only after discussion with you, while the "League" as an organization would be formally launched only after your participation. And the location of the headquarters for this "League" must also be discussed before it is finally decided.

Our peace-loving and freedom-loving compatriots! The day of Hitler's doom is near. The continuous defeats suffered by the Japanese in the Pacific, the increasing intensity of difficulties in Japan, the heightening of discontent and the spirit of resistance of the Japanese people all show that the wonderful opportunity for the Japanese people to rise and overthrow the militarists has already arrived. We expect and fervently hope that you are in agreement with our proposals and will rally your comrades in your locality for the establishment of the "League", and start positive activities for the liberation of the Japanese people.

The unity of 550,000 Japanese residing in democratic countries is no doubt a great threat to the Japanese militarists and a great inspiration to the Japanese people at home. Long live the Japanese People's Emancipation League!

-- For the Preparatory Committee of the
Japanese People's Emancipation League

(signed) Susumu Okano
Kazuo Sugimoto
Ken** Mori

February 26, 1944 (at Yenan)

*The Chinese original which we used as our text had "Sugiki". However, since other references indicate that the name should be "Sugimoto", we have used this name, assuming a typographical error in the Chinese original.
**The Chinese character for "Ken" can also be pronounced "Takeshi".

2. DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE'S EMANCIPATION LEAGUE

TERMINATION OF THE WAR AND CONCLUSION OF THE PEACE

1. Owing to the "Manchurian incident", the Sino-Japanese War, and the Pacific War, the militarists and big capitalists of the armament industries realized amazing profits. On the other hand our people as well as the other peoples in the Far East have been undergoing indescribable sufferings. The longer the war lasts, the greater will be our difficulties and dangers. Therefore we demand:

   A. Immediate termination of the war.

   B. Withdrawal of the Japanese troops from all the occupied territories.

   C. Conclusion of a just peace with all the countries at war. Thus will a peaceful and secure life be restored to our people most speedily.

ENDURING PEACE

2. Practically all the wars in the last fifty years were caused by the provocations of our militarists and their supporters. Therefore we demand:

   A. Severe punishment of the main provocateurs of the "Manchurian Incident", the Sino-Japanese War, and the Pacific War.

   B. Complete removal of the influence of the militarists from our political life.

   C. Disarmament and demobilization of our armed forces to the limit of retaining only enough forces for defense; abolition of the conscription system and introduction of the voluntary system.

   D. The carrying out of a thorough, peaceful foreign policy.

   E. Participation in an international peace organization (New League of Nations) after the war.

Through this, the recurrence of war will be prevented; and friendly relations between different nations based on the principle of peace, independence, equality, coexistence, and co-prosperity will be firmly established.

PROSPEROUS ECONOMIC POLICY

3. Our national economy has been impoverished by the large scale and long drawn-out war. Therefore we demand:

   A. Reduction of military expenditures to the minimum; allotment of the major part of the national budget to a program of reconstruction, expanding economy, and raising the living standard of the people.

   B. Maintenance and strengthening of state control over banks and big enterprises.

   C. Development of machine and precision instrument industries based on the present heavy industries.

full and secure life, as rendered to our people most usefully.

[illegible]

6. The recovery and demobilization of our armed forces in the light of well-[illegible]

7. [illegible]

8. [illegible]

Thirdly [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

war. Therefore we [illegible]:

A. Reduction of military expenditure in the [illegible] allotment of the part of the national budget to a process of reconstruction, [illegible] and [illegible]

B. [illegible]

C. Development of measures and [illegible] transferred from [illegible] based on the present heavy burden.

D. Establishment of a land system to effect the most efficient utilization of land, and mechanization of agriculture in order to enrich the country.

E. Promotion of foreign trade based on the principle of mutuality.

Thus can the independence and prosperity of our country be realized.

OVERTHROW OF THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

4. Since the Meiji Restoration the military clique and its supporters have been exercising dictatorship and tyranny in Japan's politics. Therefore we demand:

A. Abrogation of all the privileges possessed by the militarists such as the right of direct appeal to the emperor by military authorities, right of only military officers to become War and Navy Ministers, etc.

B. Prohibition of interference by military men in politics, economy, education and culture.

C. Dissolution of all organizations under the guidance of the military clique such as "Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association", "Imperial Rule Assistance Association","Imperial Rule Assistance Youth League", and other various nationalistic organizations.

In this way can our politics be purified.

LIBERAL AND DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM

5. The militarists trampled under foot the freedom and rights of our people. Therefore we demand:

A. Abolition of the "total mobilization law", "requisition law", "war time special criminal law", "law of maintaining order and peace" and other similar vicious laws.

B. Release of all those caught as political prisoners for their opposition against the war and militarists or against social injustices.

C. Repeal of restrictive regulations imposed upon occupations and choice of residence.

D. Realization of complete freedom of speech, publication, assembly and association, and religious belief.

E. Granting of electoral rights to men and women over twenty years of age.

F. Establishment of a democratic political system.

G. Convocation of a national assembly to revise the constitution.

Thus will we build a free and democratic New Japan.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S LIFE

6. The military clique used to term Japan a first rate power from the military point of view. However the living standard of our working people (at home and abroad) is lower than that of a third rate power. Due to the long drawn-out war they are impoverished and starving. Therefore we demand:

A. Stabilization of prices; lower taxes and levies imposed upon working people; abolition of various unjust burdens, compulsory savings, contributions in form of money and agricultural products, labor services, etc.

B. Abolition of the restrictive decrees upon wages and salaries; establishment of fair wage and salary scales; shortening of working hours; restoration and improvement of factory life and labor unions.

C. Abolition of compulsory sales to the government of agricultural products by farmers as well as restrictions of the types of crops to be cultivated. Legislation of air taxes; prohibition of forfeiture of land; supplying of cheap fertilizer in great quantities; restoration of peasants' unions.

D. Guarantee of academic freedom; abolition of students' labor service and military training; restoration of progressive students' organizations.

E. Adoption of effective measures to regenerate and give relief to small business men.

In addition, adoption of all other means to improve the life and to promote the culture of our nation.

GUARANTEE OF SECURITY FOR ARMY AND NAVY SERVICEMEN AND THEIR FAMILIES

7. The life of the servicemen's families and those discharged from the military services is most miserable. In our armed forces there is no guarantee of human rights. Therefore we demand:

A. Guarantee for the livelihood of the families of conscripted and deceased soldiers.

B. Guarantee of employment for discharged soldiers; guarantee of a living for wounded and disabled soldiers.

C. Improvement in the diet for men of the army and navy. Prohibition of beatings and cruel treatment; granting of leaves; freedom of correspondence, reading and gatherings; electoral rights; discharge from the army immediately after term of military service; prohibition of recall into service.

Thus we endeavor to guarantee and to improve the life of the direct victims of the war.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

8. The above stated are the urgent demands of all Japanese people. But the government of militarists and big capitalists opposes them energetically and tries to prevent their realization with all their power. Therefore we must overthrow the war government and organize a people's government embracing all the progressive parties and representing the welfare and desires of the people.

3. RELATIONSHIP OF THE EMPEROR AND THE ZAIBATSU TO THE MILITARISTS*

By Ken Mori, member of the Preparatory Committee of the J.P.E.L. in Northern China.

The draft program published by the preparatory committee for the creation of the Emancipation League aroused tremendous interest not only among Japanese, but also among informed circles in free China. The March 23rd issue of the Chungking "Ta Kung Pao" criticized the draft program in its editorial. Its starting point is as follows: "Purely on a theoretical basis and from the point of view of the Chinese, we sincerely and earnestly hope that the Japanese people will strive for complete and true emancipation." We heartily welcome and feel grateful to such friendly criticism and proposals. Our program, it is needless to say, is merely a draft program. We expect opinions and criticisms from various circles in order to improve it.

The editorial of the "Ta Kung Pao" reviewed the program from the military, political, economic, and diplomatic aspects, and expressed its opinions about all these aspects. For instance, it suggested that the following addition be made to the program: "After the war the Japanese State should confiscate unfair (excess) profits of the Zaibatsu and distribute them among those who were victimized by the war." We agree with this unconditionally. As regards to other opinions, we do not have differences in principle. However, we wonder whether the time is opportune to include them in the program now.

There is one opinion with which we cannot agree in principle, namely that "the overthrow of the Emperor and the Zaibatsu" forms an absolutely indispensable part of the program. Since this is actually the pivotal problem of the program, we would like to give it some special consideration. Before discussing this main point, in order to avoid misunderstanding, I feel it necessary to touch on the nature of our program as follows:

Our program has the following characteristics:

1) Our program aims to appeal not only to Japanese in free China, but also to soldiers in the Japanese armed forces (and other Japanese residents) in China, and to the masses of people in Japan. We can even say that it is the latter group we emphasize. Therefore, it is their present morale, ideas, demands, and struggles, etc., we should consider in determining the basis of the program. Thus, those demands which are very far from their present degree of understanding, though correct in principle, are put in reserve and not included in this program. Our program, then, is a minimum one. When great changes occur in the political situation and in the conditions of the masses in the future, this program needs to be complemented and revised.

2) Our program is not the program of one party or one sect. It is a coalition program of various parties — a united front program. The parties in the united front agree on the basic aims; namely, termination of the war and overthrow of the militarists. On the other hand, they may possibly have dissenting opinions on other problems. This is the reason why we proposed only general principles on these disputable points, leaving room for further discussions and amendments; for instance, on the military clique "and its supporters", "fair" peace (independence of Korea and return of Formosa to China are included), Japan's future political set-up and economic and land system, etc.

*The original title was as follows: "Concerning the Chungking "Ta Kung Pao"'s criticism on the draft program of the Japanese People's Emancipation League."

As explained above, our program is a minimum program as well as a united front program. For this reason we proposed the immediate termination of the war as the basic aim. How can we achieve this aim? By establishing a broad people's front and first concentrating our forces on overthrowing the criminal leaders of this predatory war. On the one hand, this necessitates our centering our attack upon the main objective, namely the leaders of the war, and avoiding a split in our forces over various objectives. On the other hand our program must be such as to win over to our side all those elements opposing the war leaders and the war. That is, even those who do not see the predatory nature of the war, but curse the war because of the terrible sufferings inflicted on their life, must be won to our side. Concretely speaking, workers, peasants, intellectuals, small and middle capitalists and all other victims of the war — all are our allies.

Our program is based on these considerations. Then who are the main criminals of this predatory war? In our opinion, they are the "militarists and their supporters". On this point, however, "Ta Kung Pao" disagrees and maintains the following:

"We must know that the militarists always act under the banner of the Emperor and that the Emperor is a feudalistic symbol. The Zaibatsu, especially the new Zaibatsu*, as a matter of fact, instigate the militarists to engage in war and support the militarists with all in their power. The true cause of the war is to be found in the profits of the Zaibatsu. Therefore, we should overthrow the militarists and their supporters, but more important we should overthrow the Emperor and the Zaibatsu....."

This means that the Emperor (Imperial family), Zaibatsu, and the militarists are all responsible for the predatory war. There is no doubt about this. However, these three are not one political force. The Emperor (Imperial family) and the militarists, though they belong to the same monarchical institution form for the time being, a separate section within it. These three forces (to which must be added the landowner's power), though compromising and coalescing with each other, contradict and antagonize each other to a more or less degree. This cannot be doubted if one follows the past and recent confusing history of the alignment and realignment of various political forces in Japan.

Who are the main war criminals among these forces? This boils down to the question of who possesses the real political power in Japan. Unless this power is removed, the war cannot be terminated and the people cannot be emancipated.

Who has the real political power in Japan? According to the Constitution the Emperor has all the powers, military and political. But this is so only constitutionally. Actually, the Emperor has, to a certain extent, already become a puppet. The "will" of the Emperor is today almost dictated by the militarists, the strongest force within the entire ruling cliques (or within the monarchical institution.) The militarists monopolize the entire Japanese military machine, start and direct the war, put the bureaucracy at their own service, dictate politics, dominate state capital, and now together with the Zaibatsu extend their ruling power into the economic field. As a matter of fact, they hold the controlling power in the colonies, in China, and in occupied territories in the South Sea.

What is the relationship between the Zaibatsu and the militarists? "Ta Kung Pao" recognizes that "the real motive of the war lies in the profits of the Zaibatsu." This is true. However, although the militarists protect the interests of the Zaibatsu (and the big landlords) and share its profits, the militarists (i.e.,

*By "New Zaibatsu" is meant those capitalists who have become enriched through the armament program since the Manchurian War in 1931, as for example, Ayukawa, etc.

the monarchical institution) themselves have their own interest and their own independent existence. Though the Zaibatsu participates and exercises great influence in politics, the political power is nevertheless possessed by the militarists. This is the characteristic which distinguishes Japan from the Anglo-American parliamentary political structure.

The above exposition clearly explains that the militarists are the real rulers. Hence, is it not evident that the main enemy whom we must overthrow with full force are the militarists?

The relationship between the militarists and the other ruling forces can be compared, so to speak, with a horse and its rider. The military is the horse; on its back, ride the Emperor, the big landowners, and the big Zaibatsu. In such a case, what should we do if we want to kill them all with one arrow? The proverb says,"If you want to kill the man, you must kill the horse." If we first kill the horse, it is not difficult to kill the riders falling off the horse one by one. But if you try to kill the horse and the riders at the same moment, this will clearly end in failure. This is the main reason for our not including the overthrow of the Zaibatsu and the Emperor in our program.

There is another reason for not including the overthrow of the Emperor in our program. Due to the deceptive propaganda and education of the past 70 years, the Imperial family still has a semi-religious (above classes and semi-God) influence over the Japanese people. This is well known to anybody who knows Japanese conditions. Hence our fight against it requires a more careful method as compared with our attack against the militarists and the Zaibatsu. The main thing is to break down the superstition deeply rooted among the people. For this it is necessary to show the people, by means of concrete facts, the truth that the Emperor is the enemy of the people. The masses need long and patient enlightenment and education. If, however, we ignore these preparatory steps and merely cry for the overthrow of the Emperor, we will merely incite the animosity and opposition of the people. These are the bitter experiences we underwent in Japan in the past and more recently on the Chinese battlefields. The first step in the overthrow of the Emperor and the monarchical institution is to crush first its main support, namely the militarists. This will render the Emperor powerless. If the militarists collapse, the fall of the monarchical institution will follow.

The demand of the "Ta Kung Pao," that of "a complete overthrow" of the Zaibatsu means nothing less than the confiscation of their entire property. This is tantamount to a socialist revolution. As already explained, our League does not aim at a revolution of this character. In addition, overthrow of the Zaibatsu, (confiscation of property) though it may mean elimination of a few big armament capitalists, would nevertheless frighten other capitalists, with the result that they will support the militarists with their full strength. Furthermore, it would cause the petit bourgeoisie, which should otherwise side with us, to waver, with the result that they become merely passive observers instead of participants in our movement. Such a slogan as "complete overthrow of the Zaibatsu" simply strengthens the enemy camp and weakens our own camp. Our movement will finally end in failure.

Such is our position towards the militarists, the Emperor, and the Zaibatsu. However, if the following circumstances should arise in Japan in the future, what would be our attitude? For instance, if a certain Zaibatsu coalesces with Tojo, wants to share its fate with him, and comes out to oppose us, do we still apply the above stated principle and not attack the Zaibatsu? Certainly not. Under such a circumstance, we must overthrow the Zaibatsu together with Tojo, and even confiscate its property. But in this case we do not overthrow the Zaibatsu as a whole, but punish a certain Zaibatsu as a direct war criminal together with Tojo and "the

militarists and their supporters."

Our policy toward the Emperor is the same. If the Emperor identifies his fate with the militarists, we must expose his crimes before the people and overthrow him with the militarists.

But if those who now commit war crimes with the militarists, should later realize their mistakes and abandon the militarists or dissociate themselves from them, what should we do? As the "Ta Kung Pao" points out, we would be lenient toward them. Will such a situation arise in the future? If it does, what content will it have? It is very difficult to predict at present. This is the reason why we only mention the militarists and their "supporters" in our program but do not specify who "their supporters" are.

I have explained the central problems of our draft program at length and expressed our opinion about them. I hope I have removed some misunderstandings concerning our program, and at the same time have answered the goodwill of those Chinese friends who look forward to "a complete and true emancipation of the Japanese people." I hope they will in the future take the trouble to point out our mistakes and go a stepfarther by helping us to develop the organization of our League. (20th April)

4. THE YENAN JAPANESE WORKERS AND PEASANTS SCHOOL: CRADLE OF THE JAPANESE ANTI-WAR FIGHTERS IN CHINA

HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL

Since the Eighth Route Army began to resist the Japanese, it adopted a policy of "not maltreating the enemy prisoners, but of treating them courteously and releasing and letting them return, if they so desired." The specific instructions issued by the GHQ of the 18th Army Group were as follows:

"The Japanese soldiers are sons and brothers of the toiling people. They came into conflict with us, because they were deceived and threatened by the military as well as the Zaibatsu. Therefore,

"1. The Japanese war prisoners must not be hurt or insulted; their possessions must not be confiscated or destroyed indiscriminately. They should be treated as brothers. Those of our soldiers who act against this instruction will be punished by the commander.

"2. Special care must be taken of the wounded and sick prisoners and medical treatment must be given them.

"3. Those prisoners who desire to return to their country and to their unit should be given all possible aid so that they may reach their destination safely.

"4. Those war prisoners who desire to stay in China and to work for the Chinese army should be sent to suitable schools.

"5. Those who desire to correspond with their family and friends should be accorded proper facilities.

"6. Dead soldiers are to be buried and grave markers built for them."

Signed:

Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief
Pao Teh Fei, Deputy Commander-in-Chief

The above quoted instructions have been executed fairly thoroughly by the soldiers of the Eighth Route Army as well as the Chinese people. They sent back to their unit those war prisoners who desired to return. (This accounts for the small number of war prisoners in the Eighth Route Army.) Farewell parties were organized by the Army and civilians. The war prisoners were taken to the front lines and were given, if necessary, travelling expenses. Those who were wounded were returned, after they received kind medical treatment. The Eighth Route Army has no special war prisoner camps, and also does not force prisoners to work. The daily life of the prisoners is free. Their living conditions are better than those of the soldiers of the Eighth Route Army. Such treatment could not fail to impress the war prisoners.

At the beginning they thought they would be killed if they were captured. They did not expect to be treated well and afterwards sent home. They were impressed and tears rolled down their faces.

All this has also a favorable effect upon the thinking of Japanese soldiers in general. It serves to make them realize the character of the Eighth Route Army's

policy toward war prisoners. This is the reason why voluntary surrenders to the Eighth Route Army are increasing in number.

Such treatment also exercises great influence upon the thought of soldiers in the hands of the Eighth Route Army, enabling them to understand the Eighth Route Army and the character of the war correctly in a short time.

Secondly, the Eighth Route Army attaches importance to the education of war prisoners. At the beginning of 1938, the political education of war prisoners was launched at various places on the front lines, either individually or in groups. Since, however, it was difficult to study systematically on the front lines, the General Political Department of the Eighth Route Army decided to establish the "Japanese Workers and Peasants School" in Yenan in November 1940.

The aim of the school is firstly to break down the wrong belief held by Japanese soldiers that the war conducted by Japan is a holy war, and to make them understand the real character of the war. Furthermore, the school trains cadres from among the students for political work against the Japanese Army. The principle of the school can be expressed by the motto of the school: "Peace, Justice, Fraternity, Labor, and Practice."

At the opening of the school there were less than twenty students, most of whom had been captured only a short time before. Thus most of the students were not interested in learning and showed an antagonistic attitude towards the school. Their life was loose and undisciplined. They thought of returning home and feared "being forced to join the Communist Party."

The school began its work under such conditions. First it made the life and activities (going out, etc.) of the students completely free, granted them self administration within the school. They were given the best possible clothing, food, and housing so that they would lose the feeling of being prisoners, understand the sincerity of the Eighth Route Army, and get accustomed to a disciplined school life.

As regards the studies, lectures in current events, world geography, introductory economics, etc. were given in the Japanese language. An indirect method of teaching was resorted to. For instance, Hitler's crimes were exposed in order to enable the students to realize the crimes of the Japanese militarists. Besides, there were debates on students' superstitions or on simple subjects such as: "Does the soul exist after death?" "Why is it that although we work hard, we still cannot avoid poverty?" Such lectures and debates helped to break down the out-dated ideas of students and to inspire them with constructive and new ideas of life.

The above mentioned method showed results gradually. Two or three months after the establishment of the school, there was a change in the thinking of the students. In May 1941, an opening ceremony of the school took place in the auditorium of the Eighth Route Army. This impressed them tremendously. The ceremony was on a grand scale and went beyond their expectations. The Chinese audience gave them fiery ovations and applause. This helped to awaken in them a feeling of international solidarity and a spirit of unity between the Chinese and Japanese people who are fighting against the common enemy. From this time on, their thinking underwent great changes and became improved and clarified.

Since the opening ceremony, new students streamed in continuously from the front. The school was expanded. From then on, the school developed on a normal basis. The curriculum was extended to include many complicated subjects. The students' interest in learning was heightened.

Most of the students joined the "Anti-War League", which was organized by them. In the League, they received further training in thought. Already, by the end of 1941 a few active elements were developed, and the activities of the school were under their own leadership.

In August 1942, the "All North China Soldiers' Conference" and the "North China Delegates' Conference of the Anti-War League" were called. These two were called, organized, and led by the students, thus strengthening their responsiblity and self-confidence as anti-war fighters. Now they possessed an ability for independent work.

At the beginning of 1943, the school underwent an organisational change. Since then, all matters concerning the school except its financial aspects, have been taken care of by the students. The teachers also are graduates of the school. Since Mr. Susumu Okano became the head of the school in the summer of that year, all school matters, with a few exceptions, have been administered by Japanese. As a result of this, the work of the General Political Department of the Eighth Route Army (Department of Work among Enemy Soldiers) is limited to helping the school economically and to approving the fundamental policy of the school. This shows great progress on the part of the students.

By the end of last year (1943) some of the students already completed the courses. It was decided to send them to the front. This marked the first time such a large number of them were sent to the front at one time.

PRESENT CONDITIONS

1. Structure

The school belongs to the General Political Department of the Eighth Route Army and is under the direction of the "Department of Work Among Enemy Soldiers". Actually, however, as explained above, it is administered by Japanese cadres independently. There are a principal and a deputy principal, and under them, a person in charge of school administration and another in charge of the curriculum.

The students are divided into two parts. One part is called "Japanese Work Troops",* consisting of Japanese students; the other, "Work Troops Among Enemy Soldiers", consisting of Chinese students. (The latter has as its aim the training of cadres who conduct activities among enemy soldiers. These latter students are, however, not numerous.)

The daily work of the "Japanese Work Troops" is organized by the troop leader, political secretary, and educational secretary. All these officers are naturally Japanese. The students are divided into groups, each having a chairman, a study leader, and a director.

2. Curriculum

The school year is divided into three terms. Last year, on the basis of students' abilities, three groups were formed. The major study subjects of these three groups were: group A, the ABC of Politics; group B, the Social Sciences; group C, World Politics. In addition, there are supplementary subjects common to all the classes: current events, culture, the Chinese language, etc.

*"Work Troops" as used here are similar to our "psychological warfare" troops.

At the beginning of the new term of this year all the students were assigned to one group. (The advanced students went to the front). In this first term the ABC of Politics was taught as the major subject, and current events and practical knowledge as supplementary subjects.

Let us introduce the content of several courses.

"The ABC of Politics" is political education for beginners. Its content is to explain such matters as the following: "How does society develop?" "What is capitalistic economy?" "Why does war break out?" "What is fascism?" etc. The purpose is to make the students understand the war and the crimes of the militarists. The teachers of this course were formerly students of the school.

The purpose of the "Current Events" course is to explain important events occurring within as well as outside Japan, and to convince students of the nearing collapse of Hitler and the militarists, of the inevitable victory of the anti-Axis nations. The students show utmost interest in this subject and receive great stimulus from it. The lecturer is Mr. Susumu Okano, and the class is given once in two weeks.

Besides these two subjects, there are courses on "Practical Knowledge", the "Chinese Language," and on "Culture." The purpose of the course in "Practical Knowledge" is to give students knowledge in various fields in connection with current actual events in detail. For instance, enthusiasm for increased production is rising in Yenan now. In connection with this, the economic problems of the Border Regions are explained. The course on "Culture" is given for the benefit of those students whose cultural background is especially low. In this course Japanese, Arithmetic, and Romanized characters are taught.

As regards the method of teaching, debates are conducted (after regular classes) in which difficult questions are answered and important problems are discussed. Thus the understanding of the students is deepened. Also, the study leader of each group continually helps the students of his group in their studies.

At the end of each term tests are given. The results of the present students are not bad. At the end of last year, the result of the test for the course on "The ABC of Politics" was 93 points on the average.

3. Ideological training

As most of the students were brought up on fascist ideology, the school exercises great care in overcoming the effects of such training. Thus, if necessary, lectures on self-discipline are given, in which bad tendencies among students are criticized and methods of correcting them are studied. Also, under the sponsorship of the Emancipation League, self-criticism is conducted once a month. Students are individually criticised. In addition, each group reviews the daily life of the students. Those who have been excellent in their conduct are given special praise.

In this way, even hardened students usually change their attitude within a few months after their entrance into the school. At the time of the foundation of the school, undesirable tendencies were in existence among the students. (For examples, looseness, superior attitude toward the Chinese, lack of group spirit, laziness, etc.) At present, these have been overcome.

4. Fostering of work potentialities

Besides the above-mentioned subjects, the school pays attention to the equip-

ping of students with the necessary training for independent work in the future. Therefore, advanced students, in addition to theoretical studies, perform various kinds of work such as drafting of propaganda materials, editing of newspapers, exercises in "shouting", debating, teaching, news analyses, organisational activity in various associations, work of a general character, etc.

In connection with these kinds of work, study and "review" meetings, if necessary, are held, at which opinions are exchanged and criticisms made. As a result, those who formerly could not write articles, are now excellent in this field of activity. By these methods, the school trains students so that they can work well when sent to the front.

5. Various activities

(a) The Japanese People's Emancipation League (reorganized from the "Anti-War League") - Most of the students have joined this organization.

(b) Propaganda activities, in which students do their utmost.- Up to spring of last year, they broadcast from the "New China Broadcasting Station" in Yenan to Japanese soldiers, Japanese residents in China, and Anti-War League branches at the front, twice a week in the Japanese language. The manuscripts are written by students, who are also responsible for the broadcasting.

They also send telegrams in Romanized characters to branches at the front for their propaganda use once a week (at present twice a week). For all these things the students are responsible. They furthermore send correspondence to the "Kaiho-Nippo" ("Daily News of the Emancipation"). All the students participate in the wall newspaper, the "Sento" ("The Battle") which is published in the school and has now reached its sixty-sixth issue.

(c) Editing and publication of books; the library; drafting, editing, and publishing of leaflets and propaganda materials.-

In 1943, thirty-two kinds of leaflets, fourteen kinds of pamphlets, and textbooks which contained 520,000 words altogether, were published. Up to last year, the students worked in the printing shop, undertaking the printing of material in the Japanese language. The school library, housing over two hundred and fifty books, is used daily by the students.

(d) Culture and recreation - The school devotes much effort toward promoting culture and recreation among the students. This consists mainly of physical training, games, various kinds of chess, singing of songs, hikes, excursions.

Regarding physical training: Besides the military drill the entire student body exercises early every morning, and there is a "physical training day" once a week. All the students participate in baseball, volley ball, and other sports. The baseball team organized by the students is the only one in Yenan.

On various commemoration days, entertainments are organized. The students produce short plays and humourous dialogues, perform magic, sing songs, play the harmonica and flute, etc. The students like to play mah jong, poker, Japanese chess, and Japanese flower cards, etc. Competitions are held once a month, with prizes for the winners.

As regards songs, these range from fashionable Chinese songs they learn from Chinese students to Japanese anti-war songs of their own composition. Both in spring and in autumn, they hike to the outskirts of Yenan, inspecting organizations and institutions in the vicinity.

In short, by all these means, they transform life in a foreign country, which might otherwise become dull and lonely, into an enjoyable one.

(e) Activities outside the school - The students participated in various conferences held in Yenan; for instance, in the "Congress of the Eastern Peoples

against Fascism" in 1941.

At the election of councillors of the border regions, which was held in the autumn of the same year, the Government gave the students the right to elect and to be elected, as well as to participate in the electoral campaign. As a result of this, Ken Mori was elected as Councillor of the Border Region and Nakakoji as Councillor of Yenan. Such incidents demonstrated the great international spirit of the Chinese people, leaving a deep impression on the minds of the students.

In January 1943, they participated in the conference celebrating the repeal of unequal treaties, and other similar conferences.

Every year they send to anniversary meetings such as May 1st, July 7th, and September 18th, speakers representing the school and other Japanese organizations.

6. Life of the students

The students adhere to the rule of "eight hours' study, eight hours' rest and production activity, eight hours' sleep." Their daily life runs according to the following schedule: out of bed at the morning call; roll-call and gymnastics; one hour self study before breakfast; two or three hours' classes after breakfast; self study in the afternoon; two hours of games after supper; two hours of debates or conferences in the evening.

The Eighth Route Army paid special attention to the matter of food and the supply of daily necessities to the students, giving them preferential treatment and guaranteeing them a much better living than that of the average Chinese student in Yenan. For instance, the staple food is not millet, but white flour; three (Chinese) pounds of meat a month and an ample supply of tooth brushes, towels, shoes, soap, tobacco, and other daily necessities are provided.

As regards food, the students have organized a committee which makes up menus and teaches the cooks to make Japanese dishes. There are a special kitchen and dining hall for the Japanese students. At present, in Japan proper, meat is eaten only once a month. The food situation in the Japanese Army is especially bad. In contrast, the Workers and Peasants School provides meat every day. This makes the students happy and they are very satisfied.

The food provisions and other necessities supplied by the administrative office of the Eighth Route Army are so ample that the students cannot consume them all. Therefore, the students invest the surplus in the school cooperative. The average investment of the students amounts to three thousand Chinese dollars at present. Such being the case, the students say: "In Japan, we were head and ears in debt, but in Yenan we have become rich men."

The above described generous treatment of the students in their daily life produced a great effect on them.

7. Production

According to the regulations of the Eighth Route Army, the Workers and Peasants School differs from other schools of general character in that it imposes no obligation on the students to take part in production work. Daily necessities are supplied by the administrative office in order to enable the students to concentrate on their studies.

However, the students, in order to improve their living conditions, devote their spare time to productive activities. At present there are three groups of workers: the first group, consisting of two-thirds of the students, engage in spinning and weaving; the second group work in the agricultural fields and are composed of those strong enough for this activity; the third group, consisting of those es-

pecially skilled in carpentry, make spinning machines and household articles, etc. for sale.

8. Work at the front

The school selects for work at the front those students who have completed certain courses with high grades. For example, in 1942, the school sent students to Southeastern Shansi and Northwestern Shansi. In April of this year, many students went to various points in North Cina and Middle China. The students regard being sent to the front as the highest honor, and depart with great enthusiasm. Since their work is of a superior quality, they are heartily welcomed by the political department at the front.

Recently, the work among enemy soldiers of the Eighth Route Army has become improved. To this, the students have contributed to no small degree. Upon arriving at the front, the students become new cadres of instructors who in turn send new students to Yenan. Thus there is a constant stream of cadres between the front and the rear.

APPENDIX*

Various statistics concerning the students
(all expressed in %)

A. Former occupation

Workers	Employees	Peasants	Teachers	Merchants
53.8	16.9	13.8	12.3	3.0

B. Educational background

Elementary School	Higher Elem. School	Middle School	Higher Professional School	College
12.4	66.1	15.4	4.6	1.5

C. Years of study at the Workers and Peasants School

3 yrs.	2.5 yrs.	2 yrs.	1.5 yrs.	1 yr.	6 mos.	less than 6 months
20	20	3	12.4	9.2	33.2	4.6

D. Membership in the Anti-War League

Members	Non-members
98	2

*Some of the figures do not seem accurate, but we have copied them as they appear in the "China Daily News."

5. PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES OF THE JAPANESE ANTI-WAR LEAGUE IN CHINA

North China Council of the Japanese People's Emancipation League

Editor's note: Today is the Fourth Anniversary of the organization in China of the Japanese Anti-War League and is worthy of commemoration. At present all the anti-war Japanese in Northern China have become united under the glorious banner of the Japanese People's Emancipation League, with the purpose of overthrowing Japanese military-fascism and of liberating the Japanese people. To commemorate the past work done by the Japanese Anti-War League in China, this article is written.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE JAPANESE SOLDIERS

1. Lowering quality of the Japanese soldiers and officers

Since the change in the recruiting system last year, all youths from age 19 up are being drafted. The Japanese recruits are divided into three classes: A, B, and C. Those in Class A are the active soldiers; those in classes B and C are the reserves. Class C comprises those with diseases but now, even these are being drafted. The present replacement troops in Northern China are mostly from the B and C groups. These were previously listed as unfit for front line duty and good only in the transport unit. They are locally trained in Northern China and are used as military police for the most part because they often lack courage to face front line fighting.

A pension system existed previously in the Japanese Army. Soldiers who had served ten years and four months could receive 240 yen per year; the lowest non-commissioned officer, after serving 12 years, could receive 360 yen per year; sergeants received more; officers received 600 yen per year after fifteen years in service. Usually, if the soldiers served their term satisfactorily, they could expect to be promoted to the rank of a non-commissioned officer. However, ever since this pension system was cancelled in 1942, soldiers lost their desire to become non-commissioned officers and longed only to return home after their term of service was up. For this reason, a compulsory measure was taken. As the present soldiers have no incentive for becoming officers, their fighting quality is deteriorating.

Officers were largely recruited from among those who graduated from the Officers' School. At present, however, those who graduate from the Law, Economics, or Literature Departments of colleges and universities are made officers after they have undergone one year of voluntary service. Additional officers are selected from the cadet officers' list. The fighting experience and the training of these men are very poor. They do not command the respect of the soldiers. Politically, these men are also not as fanatically nationalistic as those graduated from the Officers' School.

Soldiers in Korea were formerly taken under a voluntary system, but now they are conscripted. This accounts for the great increase in Korean soldiers which in turn led to increasing the friction between the Japanese and the Korean soldiers. Korean soldiers are looked down upon and are not permitted to handle machine guns, grenades, or weapons which require technical skill.

2. Morale of the soldiers

Because life is unpleasant and face slapping incidents occur, soldiers are greatly dissatisfied. The slapping habit in the Japanese Army is terrible. The new soldiers get so badly slapped that they cry in the latrines or under bed covers; some even desert the Army or commit suicide. Although the Army has given out an order

forbidding slapping, yet actually it still permits such conditions to exist because it facilitates control over the soldiers. The soldiers become dissatisfied if they are not discharged at the end of their term of service. Even if discharged, they do not wish to return to Japan. They want to establish a little business of their own in Northern China, because if they return to Japan they are liable to be drafted again.

Current events influenced them greatly. According to a prisoner of war of last year, the defeat of the Island of Attu greatly affected them and they all commented that now the end of the war should be near. Last year when the 85th Battalion issued an appeal for volunteer landing troops, the result was that not one soldier registered for it. But still the Japanese soldiers in general believe that Japan will finally win. The deceptive propaganda of Tojo that if Japan is defeated she will become a third rate nation has produced some results.

Opposition to officers is daily increasing. In 1940, the soldiers of the independent mixed 3rd Regiment, 7th Battalion went on a hunger strike, called the captain in and asked: "How can such food be eaten?" The result was that the meals became better. A fourth year soldier of the 36th Division not having enough to eat, opened up the storage room and brought out food for everybody. He was not punished. In Northwestern Shansi, an officer-in-training was made to apologize to them formally. Six of the soldiers of the independent mixed 10th Regiment were not discharged at the termination of their service. They drank and caused trouble, for which they were punished. So they shot at the Captain. The result was that three men were sentenced to death, three were given life imprisonment, and the captain committed suicide. Also, there were cases in which soldiers refused to join punitive expeditions. At Shantung, there was a sergeant who led a group of men into the Company Headquarters and complained of the bad meals.

Desertion and suicide among the soldiers also have increased. According to statistics, of all the prisoners taken, those who deserted the Japanese Army amounted to 7% in 1940, 40% in 1941, 8% in 1942, 48% in the first half of 1943. At present, there are circulating among the soldiers such passwords as: "Take care of your health!" Also such diseases as "nervous condition of the bones" (a false illness which is impossible to check) have become very prevalent. Such are the general conditions of the Japanese soldiers.

The morale of the soldiers has become much lower than it has been the last two years. Isolated cases of anti-war actions have already taken place. For instance, a certain officer orders an attack, but soldiers ignore it. However, these actions should not be over-estimated. They are due to favorable objective conditions and are to a large extent spontaneous. The work of the Anti-War League has had only partial influence.

PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES OF THE ANTI-WAR LEAGUE AND THEIR EFFECTS

1. Present conditions of the Anti-War League

The Anti-War League was organized five years ago, but its actual activities date back only two or three years.

The North China Council, the headquarters, is established at Yenan (in Shansi). There are nineteen branch organizations at present: Inner Yenan - 1; Northwestern Shansi - 1; Shansi-Jehol-Hopei - 1; Central Hopei - 1; T'ai Heng - 1; T'ai Yo - 1; Southern Hopei - 1; Hopei-Shantung-Honan - 1; Shantung - 5; XX Army - 4.

2. The Soldiers' Conference and the Anti-War League Conference

The conference held in Yenan in August 1942, attended by representatives from

both the soldiers and the Anti-War League, had a threefold aim: (A) To lead a realistic struggle based on the pressing demands and dissatisfactions of the soldiers. Previous propaganda work was very subjective and formalistic. The actual conditions inside the Japanese Army were not considered; therefore, there were demands such as to end the war immediately, to return home, etc. Now, their activities must be based on existing facts. (B) To strengthen fraternization activities. (C) To centralize its organization and leadership with Yenan as the headquarters. The department of "Work Among Enemy Soldiers"* was separated and made independent of the Anti-War League. This had the effect of greatly raising the earnestness of the members of the League toward their work.

Prior to April of last year, Yenan broadcast twice a week in the Japanese language. One of the objectives was to propagandize the Japanese soldiers and the Japanese residents in China; the other was to give directives to the Anti-War League branch organizations. The contents included reports on the "Soldiers' Demands" drawn up at the Soldiers' Conference; the changing conditions of Japan both nationally and internationally; the border regions; and information about the Anti-War League and the Japanese Workers and Peasants School. A total of 55 broadcasts were made. Afterwards, because the broadcasts were not audible in many places, they were discontinued.

Beginning in April of last year, every week they sent wires in roman characters to the branch organizations. The contents of these also covered soldiers' demands, domestic and foreign events, and facts about the Japanese Workers and Peasants School. Altogether twenty-nine such wires were sent. Such work helped the branch organizations. Subsequently this work had to be strengthened, increasing the wires to twice weekly.

These two conferences changed the work of the branch organizations. They eliminated the subjective and formalistic working methods. Each branch organization called a local conference. Thereafter, propaganda work progressed on the basis of concrete problems with emphasis on fraternization activities. Work in every branch organization was enlivened and reached a new stage of development.

The "Soldiers' Demands" as drawn up at the Soldiers' Conference exercised great influence at the front. The reactions of the soldiers were favorable. They commented that it would be very nice if these demands were realized. A soldier of the 36th Division said: "What truth is in these written words!" The independent mixed third Regiment succeeded in its demand for improvement of their food. The Japanese Army was also very concerned about these demands and adopted various counter measures. The 36th Division had a copy of the demands secretly reprinted and distributed among the officers for purposes of study.

In February of this year, six representatives from the following branch organizations were present at the meeting of the enlarged executive committee: Yenan, Northwestern Shansi, Shansi-Jehol-Hopei, T'ai Heng, SouthernHopei,Shansi-Shantung-Honan. Shantung's representative came after the convention was over. At the meeting, past activities were reviewed; new policies were adopted; new directives were given for propaganda work, fraternization activities, armed propaganda groups, and for prisoners-of-war. A decision was made to establish in every branch organization, a Committee to Investigate Atrocities Committed by the Japanese Army, and to organize the Emancipation League.

3. Propaganda materials

The chief propaganda materials consist of different kinds and forms of leaflets,

*Conducted solely by Chinese

booklets, newspapers. Also used are illustrations and pictures.

Total leaflets distributed for the last complete year were: 8th Route Army - 830,000 copies; XX Army - 200,000 copies. Each local put out five or six different kinds monthly. Southern Hopei published the largest amount: 14 kinds monthly. The contents, in general, are about the daily demands of the Japanese soldiers, about current events, and about things which would arouse their homesickness.

The ways and means of distributing these materials have not undergone substantial changes. They still go through the puppet army, the puppet government, the civilians, and the armed propaganda troops. The best method is to use the armed propaganda troops who throw them into the brick forts. Cutting telegraph wires and leaving propaganda materials at such places is not a good idea because it only serves to arouse the antagonism of the Japanese soldiers.

Reactions to the propaganda materials:

Some of the soldiers, though they were not revolutionary, pasted the propaganda materials in a book to send back to Japan as curiosities. At Shansi-Jehol-Hopei, a soldier obtained a copy of the "Soldiers' Handbook" which was published by the Anti-War League, and kept it in his pocket to read in the latrine. He also requested that more be sent in the future. At T'ai-Heng, a group leader had a copy of "Doho Shimbun" (Brotherhood Newspaper), read it, and then circulated it among the soldiers for them to take turns reading it. He also requested that copies be sent to him regularly. In Central Hopei, a captain had the face-slapping habit. We wrote him a leaflet of warning, with the result that he no longer indulged in slapping. In Northwestern Shansi a similar incident occurred. We wrote a letter protesting the cruelty of Captain Kuroda. The soldiers joined in the protest, with the result that Kuroda changed his attitude. Some of the soldiers, after seeing the New Year's greetings we sent, angrily asked why none were sent from Japan proper. In Shansi-Jehol-Hopei, there was a new soldier who carefully read and studied the "Soldiers' Demands." He later came over to the Eighth Route Army. All the prisoners-of-war have read our leaflets, and have some understanding of the Eighth Route Army, the XX Army, and the Anti-War League. It is generally known by them that we do not kill our prisoners-of-war.

There were many defects in the formulation of these soldiers' demands. Some of them were excessive; others were not stimulating enough. Also there were arguments which the Japanese soldiers could not fully understand. Furthermore, the Japanese language used was too much like Chinese. Too, the newspapers contained the same news as that distributed by the New China News Service. This only aroused animosity on the part of the Japanese soldiers. The best method is to use news from Japan, exposing contradictory facts and presenting counter arguments. The Japanese soldiers want to read some real news, because the Japanese War Department does not allow them to know the true facts. At present, not enough is done to familiarize the soldiers with the Eighth Route and XX Armies, and the Anti-War League.

Hereafter, the contents of the propaganda materials, (in accordance with the changing war situation) should become more political. And more widespread propaganda should be given to the work of the Emancipation League. Newspaper publication should be increased; each branch organization should put out at least one kind of newspaper. More attention should be paid to propaganda directed toward the Japanese residents in China.

4. Gift Packages

The sending of gift packages originated with the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. At first they were only sent by the soldiers' families. At present we make use of

them everywhere. Their purpose is to promote fraternization with soldiers, and ought to be considered the first step in all propaganda work. They are sent out two or three times a year, ranging in number from 800 to 1,500 packages each time. Last year, 2,500,000 border region yuan were spent at one time. The best articles to include are daily necessities. If food is sent, the soldiers are afraid that they might contain poison. On the basis of actual experiences, eggs and peanuts are the best received foodstuffs. Recreational items can also be included.

In general, the reactions to the gift packages are favorable. They welcome the packages and are grateful for them. Those in Northwestern Shansi sent us letters after receiving them, hoping that more would be sent. Some gifts were received from them in return. In Shansi-Jehol-Hopei, there was a place where packages were distributed to all surrounding small forts, excluding the large fort in the center. This fort sent us a letter in Chinese, requesting packages. We sent them two packages, for which we received letters of thanks. In Hopei-Shantung-Honan and in Yuan, a soldier of the Expeditionary Force began eating the edible contents of the gift packages. After he had consumed about half the contents, a sub-lieutenant saw him and cried: "The food is poisoned!" The soldier stuck out his tongue and laughed.

Many other places also sent letters of thanks to us; some sent gifts in return. In Northwestern Shansi some sent back a letter along with sugar, crackers, soda water, and cigarettes. The fort at Kuangting Hill of T'ai-Heng sent back 20 pounds of rice in return. Some played the phonograph for us. At Shansi-Shantung-Honan, some even took advantage of this opportunity to start a correspondence to further friendly relations, to exchange prisoners-of-war, and to do other such work. In Shansi-Jehol-Hopei, after receiving these packages, they not only thanked the X Army, but thereafter ceased beating civilians. They also often thanked us over the telephone for the gift packages.

Henceforth, we must give more attention to such work. We must be careful to include only daily necessities, not anything else. Propaganda material especially, should not be put in. Also, larger quantities should be sent.

5. Correspondence Work

The idea of correspondence is to effect fraternization propaganda. Secondly, it is to maintain steady contact. The contents include New Year's greetings, letters of comfort, relating of events which would arouse their homesickness, always dealing with concrete problems and issues. Receivers of these letters are guards at the forts, friends of the deceased, and other actual persons whom we happen to know. These letters can be sent by removing the original contents of letters which fall into our hands and inserting our letters into the envelopes.

Replies received number from 1/10 to 1/3 of those sent out. The reasons for so few replies are: firstly, they are forbidden; secondly, they lack facilities for answering letters; thirdly, the troops are shifted frequently. Therefore, it is best to use a permanent address in order to facilitate the sending of replies.

Over a hundred letters were sent to SouthernHopei. Forty-two were answered, of which 3/5 were antagonistic, 2/5 expressed gratitude.

In Hopei-Shantung-Honan, a letter was sent to Colonel Matsumoto. He replied, saying: "Your life in the X Army is very hard. It would be best for you to come back." We sent another letter saying: "We are leading a very free and happy life. It is unlike the hellish life in the Japanese Army." He again replied: "We have launched a suppression campaign, so come back!" He also wrote to Commander Yang asking for the return of the Japanese soldiers in accordance with the "code of chivalry." Later, another lieutenant sent a letter saying: "Colonel Matsumoto is very concerned about you. You'd better return!" Finally there arrived a letter

saying: "If you don't come back, we will kill all you traitors." Subsequently, when we captured the fort, the Anti-War League wrote on the walls a slogan: "We have returned. Why did you run away?"

In Central Hopei a letter was sent to the Japanese soldiers, warning them against their atrocities. The result was that they heeded the Anti-War League and ceased their atrocities. In 1942, they informed us beforehand of a coming attack. In Men City of Shansi-Jehol-Hopei, in the first year, new soldiers were constantly being beaten. The Anti-War League wrote to the veteran soldiers, telling them to stop this practice. The new soldiers were very thankful.

At T'ai-Heng, using Matsuda's name, about forty letters were sent back to his original company. Thereupon, the soldiers all remarked, "Matsuda is still alive in the X Army," and the sergeant could no longer conceal the fact of Matsuda's being alive. He therefore tried, through the puppet government, to negotiate with us, asking that Matsuda be returned to his original company. He guaranteed the safety of his life and offered the X Army either money or ammunition in exchange.

In another case, when Fukuda was captured, the company reported him as killed in action. When letters were received by the soldiers from Fukuda, they all laughed and asked the head of the company and the personnel department: "Isn't it a fact that Fukuda is still in the X Army?" At Northwestern Shansi, Sergeant Sasaki frequently sent out so-called "pacification" expeditions during which Chinese people were maltreated. We wrote him two letters of warning, bitterly attacking him, after which the cases of mistreatment decreased.

In the future, the contents of the letters must have more human appeal, so that the soldiers will send us replies. We must exercise caution in our correspondence work because of the danger of secret agents.

6. "Shouting"

In the past, the shouting methods of the Chinese ended in failure. The purpose of shouting is to transmit our sentiments to the Japanese soldiers. In each region, shouting was performed 20 to 30 times a year. Although such work is comparatively dangerous, there has not yet occurred any serious incidents. In Shansi-Jehol-Hopei, the enemy countered by gunfire only 11 out of 32 times. In T'ai-Heng, 24 shouting performances were made without any gunfire from the enemy. Contents of the shouting include problems in the Japanese Army, current events, introduction of the Anti-War League and the Japanese personnel. Also, through shouting we stimulate the soldiers to demand better treatment and to express dissatisfaction with their officers.

While shouting is being performed, there should be some military protection. Before shouting to comparatively isolated forts, thorough investigation must be made in order to learn the actual conditions inside the fort. The distance should be about 50 to 100 meters away. To begin with, some songs are sung or the harmonica played. Then the shouting starts. Generally speaking, shouting must not be performed so suddenly as to frighten the soldiers.

Repercussions among different units:

When the soldiers heard the shouting in T'ai-Heng they thought entertainment troops had come, and expressed their welcome. But the new soldiers were slightly frightened. Kamada spoke through a megaphone to the soldiers in a certain fort in Lu-Ch'eng which held his original unit. The officer in charge was a friend of his who had come from the same village as himself. During the shouting the soldiers were all stirred up, and when the shouting troops left, the officer in charge broke into tears. When slogans were shouted out to a certain fort in Tsan Huang, group

captain Sugiyama listened. When the shouting troops departed he smashed the window panes in his excitement. In Shantung, at one garrison, there were about thirty Japanese soldiers, and fifty or more puppet soldiers. While the shouting was going on, the puppet army wanted to fire, but not the Japanese soldiers. On the second day a disturbance occurredat this garrison. Finally these two armies were separated.

In Shansi-Jehol-Hopei, the shouting went on smoothly, but after it was over, the soldiers fired aimlessly into the air. In Shansi-Shantung-Honan, following the shouting, we asked them to sing for us. They brought out the phonograph and played for more than three hours for us.

Compared with correspondence, shouting has its special advantages. It enables a give and take of direct conversation, a chance for questions and answers. Also, the talking can be carried on for 20 or 30 minutes each time. In addition, the soldiers of the entire fort can hear the shouting. On the other hand, it is more dangerous, and oftentimes bitter quarrels occur because they accuse us of being traitors and we will not stand for such accusations.

7. Telephoning

This is a new activity, and has not been widely used. It was first used in T'ai-Heng, Shansi-Jehol-Hopei, and Northwestern Shansi. Its content is the same as in shouting. First it is necessary to listen to the code of a certain fort. After this is checked, the listening-in process can begin. The best method is to have the prisoners-of-war call up their original unit. Before telephoning, it is a good idea to send them some gift packages.

Each time it is possible to talk from two or three hours to five hours. If they start firing, then we warn them that their wire will be disconnected. Oftentimes, during a telephone call, the opposite party would ask who's calling. We would answer that we are the Anti-War League, at which the other party would hang up.

During the conversation, what they are most interested in is: "What sort of work is the Anti-War League doing in the X Army?" In Northwestern Shansi, Kobayashi (Head of the Anti-War League branch in Northwestern Shansi) became famous for his telephoning. Once, during a conversation, the line was disconnected. The opposite party called back repeatedly, asking us not to leave without completing the conversation. On one occasion, they informed us how to handle the battery. In Shansi-Jehol-Hopei, X received a telephone call. It was heard by the captain who ordered the conversation to be discontinued. The captain asked X why he had to tell them his name. X answered: "How could I help it? If they asked you your name, wouldn't you tell them?" The captain angrily said: "Well, then, come to see me tomorrow!" There are also other similar examples.

The advantages of telephoning are: (A) Long conversations can be held, and questions can be asked and answered directly; (B) People of different forts can listen in; (C) To a certain extent, secret military information can be obtained.

The difficulties involved are: telephone connections are often cut off; secret codes are often changed, thereby making it difficult to call. Furthermore, the opposite party would often raise many new problems which cannot be easily answered offhand. Therefore, from now on, the technical training and political education of telephone callers should be strengthened.

WORK AMONG THE PRISONERS OF WAR

The policy in the past was to release prisoners in great numbers. This has brought good results, for it exposes with facts the lying propaganda of the Japanese

militarists. Although the militarists adopted the policy of secretly putting to death all released soldiers, yet always some people learn the truth. Following are some good reactions: the prisoners released from Shantung sent us some gifts; prisoners released from T'ai-Heng have directed revolts of the soldiers against a commander who beat new soldiers. In Southern Hopei, there was a prostitute owner who, after being freed by us, greatly changed in his thinking and conduct. Soldiers who went to visit his prostitutes were welcomed, officers who went there were charged outrageous prices. He also told all the soldiers how good the Eighth Route Army is. He was finally caught by the military police and killed.

6. ----FROM THE LIFE OF JAPANESE WAR PRISONERS

(A Correspondent Reports from the Rear of our Enemy in Central China)

THE LIFE OF THE NEWLY ARRIVED JAPANESE BROTHERS

- - by Chu Foo

(Editor's Note) In March 1944, our XX Army won its first great victory in central Kiangsu (southwest of Wei On). During this war we captured thirty Japanese prisoners. Following is the report of certain phases of their life.

One day, Yoshio Ishikawa, a Japanese prisoner of war in the Char Bridge area, took off his shoes while walking along a road. Yamamoto, his commanding officer, asked him why he did so. He replied, "They are too heavy and rather inconvenient to walk with." Nobody paid any further attention to him but he must have thought that there might be a chance for him to escape. He made an attempt to run away but was immediately recaptured. His commanding officer, Yamamoto, ordered him to stand at attention and scolded him as follows: "You still want to run away even from this place. Where can you expect to run away to? You must have some conscience left. Otherwise, we shall all lose face."

When prisoners first arrived we found more than twenty -- some with their faces burned, others with their eyebrows completely singed off, some with wounded arms, some lying on their stretchers in their worn out clothes covered with black dirt and blood stains, and their faces covered with yellow earth -- all sitting in a room quietly, almost at the point of collapse. They did not answer any questions.

A member of the Japanese Anti-War League, Kagawa, came in to talk to them, but they all hatefully accused him of being without "the real Japanese spirit." Some of them went to ask Yamamoto for permission to return to the Japanese army; others were planning on making their escape within three days. But our honest and sincere treatment impressed them and finally on the fourth day they had an enjoyable party. After the party, Yamamoto as their commanding officer, declared that he did not wish to leave and hoped that they would also remain in the XX Army.

When they came to their first meal, they rudely shoved their bowls to our comrades demanding they be filled with rice. They did not care what happened to them. What occupied the minds of all of them was the big question: "Why on earth does the XX Army not kill us? Why are we treated so well?"

Later on, when members of the Japanese Anti-War League and our comrades came to explain matters to them, they began to realize why the XX Army does not kill captives. As time went by, their stubbornness, animosity, anger and dissatisfaction began to disappear. When they were asked to write down their personal histories they did not refuse. When asked to relate their impressions, all of them expressed themselves quite frankly.

The first reception party was given by the head of the administration office at a certain place. All prisoners attended the party and enjoyed it. Since then they became frank; some talked freely; others began to work. Lt. Yamamoto of the artillery sharpened his knife, cut his meat, chopped his vegetables and scrambled his eggs. Both Shimizu and Yamamoto rolled up their sleeves and carried the basket

down to the river to wash the vegetables. At this moment they saw a group of our soldiers with steel helmets marching along the bank. They asked the soldiers, "Is this the XX Route Army?" When our comrade told them that it was, they were all surprised and said, "Oh! No wonder our commander could not defeat them. They have such troops!"

On their way back they met other battalions and squads carrying 38 caliber rifles which aroused much amazement. Umemura said, "These rifles are made by our own arsenals!" Yamamoto replied, "Yes, that is right." When they (the Japanese prisoners) saw with their own eyes that we had captured their radio station, artillery and heavy machine guns, they shook their heads and commented that the XX Army has great ability. We told them to "take it easy and not be afraid" and soon after, this idiom became popular, the meaning of which everyone understood. One day when Shimizu and Naganawa were playing checkers, one lost to the other and the winner said jokingly, "take it easy and do not be afraid!" meaning "never mind even if the war is lost, you are being treated well."

Another day, comrades of the Japanese Anti-War League of Central Kiangsu Province prepared a real Japanese party in their dormitory at which they were all served with good food and wine. They sang Japanese songs in turn, ate around the table, and performed dances. Beautiful music filled the air and a happy atmosphere prevailed outside as well as within the hall. Someone imitated movie actors for which he received a loud ovation. The drunken Okura never seemed to get tired of dancing. A crowd of people were closing in around the doorway pushing their heads against one another trying to look into this scene of happiness. But these Japanese were so happy at that moment that they did not pay any attention to what was going on outside.

They admired our female comrades as they marched with complete military equipment. Yamamoto said, "We admire their capabilities and we ought to be ashamed of ourselves that we are not equal to them." They also admired the close relationship between the people and the army and said, "The XX Army really captures the hearts of the people. We must realize that China is a big continental country and in contrast to those in an island country, people of a continental character are steadfast."

They played baseball with a ball made by themselves and sometimes divided themselves into two teams to play one against the other. The first group, which considered itself to be veterans, really took it seriously as losing face when it lost a game. They were always patient about mending the worn-out ball time and time again, until at last it could not be used any more.

Then they made a Japanese checker board set and resumed their competition, quite often giving up their meals for such games.

Though they already realized the equality of rank within the XX Army, we still paid them their salary according to the pay system in the Japanese Army. One of them from the infantry, Naganawa, raised the question as follows: "The XX Army has equality between the officers and men without class distinction. Why should we still be paid in the old way, since we are living the same lives, doing the same work? Why do we still maintain our old salary system?" Mr. Okura also thought that it was about time to express his opinion freely and so he protested seriously against the old way. Ishikawa, Mizutani, and Terao all agreed on the same point. They all realized that because of the differences in rank in the past, they could not express themselves freely, but now that they were with the XX Army they could say what they pleased. A few days later, the officers also became conscious of the fact and Sgt.Shimizu said, "Yes, there is equality in the XX Army. Since we are living the same lives and doing the same work, we ought to have equality also." Cpl. Umemura and Lt. Yamamoto both

agreed on the same point and said "We wish only to have cigarettes, we don't care for pay." Thereupon, they got their cigarettes. Every day each person received a package from the Administration Office.

Besides their regular dishes an extra dish of vegetables was served at every meal. When they all recognized that white rice was served at all three meals they admitted that our food was much better than the rationed food in the Japanese Army.

They began to work more energetically than ever. They washed their own clothes, they aired their bedding and clothes in the sun, patched up their clothes, mended their rice bags, brought in their rice bucket to the kitchen for food, cleaned up all their belongings early in the morning. Lt. Yamamoto was the best example of their orderliness.

They realized the Army's discipline in their relationship with the people. Once when Yamamoto broke a tea pot belonging to a citizen, he had to pay eighty dollars for it. On another occasion when Oya and Okura were drunk and underpaid the winekeeper, they had to go back the next day to pay the balance.

As soon as we gave them paper and "The Appeal to the Japanese People" by Susumu Okano, they all took notes. They also learned the Chinese language. An interesting thing about Yamamoto was that besides his very neat writing in square blocks he wrote on the back page of his notebook the following: "All copy rights reserved; penalty for reproduction." This caused great laughter among his comrades. One day when they were discussing the question of the effect of environment upon learning, Yamamoto suggested that they should go to the "Workers and Peasants School" at Yenan.

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(By special correspondence, Central Shuntung. Appeared in the New China Daily News in Chungking, Nov. 3, 1944)

We took as prisoners twenty Japanese soldiers and civilian residents in a battle in which we recaptured the district capital of I-Shui Hsien. We immediately sent off the wounded to the hospitals in the rear where they were treated even better than the Chinese themselves. The Japanese soldiers remaining with us were given three meals a day with Chinese cakes and meat. They also had a dinner party every fifteen days with their most favorite dish of red bean rice with sugar. Everyone was given new bedding, clothes, shoes, towels, toothbrushes, and other daily necessary articles.

Because they had been poisoned by Japanese fascist propaganda, they were struck with fear and great humiliation when they were captured. They thought that their lives were hopelessly lost. A Japanese commanding officer, Yoshio Arakawa, then thought dubiously: "We are captives now. We have often heard that the XX Route Army has treated prisoners well, but now we are actually their captives and we wonder whether they really do treat prisoners well." A Japanese civilian, Yayoi Kamibayashi, also thought: "This must be the end of life," and kept solemnly quiet. He went to sleep right after his meals, never came out of his room, refused to see people, never dared to say anything, and sometimes thought of committing suicide.

Later on, their actual experiences opened their eyes. The courteous treatment we gave them moved them deeply and made them believe in the generous Communist policy toward war prisoners. A comrade of the "Japanese People's Emancipation League" had been very faithfully and enthusiastically teaching them, had listened to what they had to say and explained away the questions in their minds. The director of the

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district army often took the trouble to pay them visits himself to console them.

Arakawa now says: "Although we are prisoners of war, we are not treated as such." Yayoi Kamibayashi, impressed, wrote: "My wife and child are dead now. I felt sad and hopeless, but fortunately the Eighth Route Army and the Japanese People's Emancipation League stretched out their warm hands to rescue us. Now I understand the international situation, the meaning of the Emancipation League and the discipline and politics of the XX Route Army. I realize that the war started by Japan was not a war of righteousness, that my wife and child have indeed been killed by the Japanese militarists." Yoshio Arakawa wrote: "As the days pass by, we begin to realize the basic aim of the Japanese People's Emancipation League and the path we must follow in order to reconstruct a new Japan."

Because of such a great change in their thinking, they began to change their way of living. They got up early in the morning, swept the courtyard, and took walks in the country. They helped to prepare every dish before dinner. Often they played baseball or rode on horseback after meals. Their interest in learning was greatly increased. They were anxious to hear reports without prejudice and took the interest to read newspapers and magazines on their own initiative.

After their arrival in the center of our base area, they could see that our people had plenty of food, domesticated poultry, clothes and other things. This was contrary to what their commanding officers had told them about this "Bandit Area." Between this area and so-called Japanese "Governing Zones" there was no comparison at all. This made a very deep impression on them. To them the most surprising thing was the close cooperation between the army and the people.

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